




THE KEYNOTER



March and Two Step
Words and Music
by
CHAS. K. HARRIS
author of
"After the Ball"

John W. Davis

MARCH TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Compliments of the
Democratic National Committee

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P.W.A.Y. #47 M

From Chaos to Catastrophe

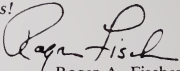
JOHN W. DAVIS AND THE ORDEAL OF THE DEMOCRATS

Editor's Message

A glance at the changes in our listing of editorial staff on the adjoining page might convey the impression that *The Keynoter* has recently undergone a thorough reorganization or even the sort of shake-up common among baseball teams that are mathematically eliminated from pennant races by Turnip Day! Such is not the case. For some time now, personnel changes and an evolution in the roles played by key individuals have made our listing of editorial functions obsolete. I have continued to exercise primary responsibility for writing or soliciting and editing the articles that appear in *The Keynoter*, a role I will still play under the more appropriate title "manuscript editor." Ever since I began my duties back in 1979, Bob Fratkan has performed the duties of co-ordinating articles with illustrations, has made the major financial decision, and has been primarily responsible for seeing that my copy gets printed and mailed to our members. He has, in other words, functioned as "managing editor," a title he now bears.

Similarly, Ed Sullivan and Edith Mayo have been assisting the editorial staff in a valuable manner by providing *The Keynoter* with access to the items and photographs in the DeWitt-Hartford and Smithsonian collections they supervise, but they actually perform no editorial duties. Hence the new title of "museum associate" is more accurate than the old designation of "associate editor," a title used formerly for such individuals as Jon Curtis and Harvey Goldberg, who were actually doing a major share of the writing and editing during their stewardships. Chick Harris, Preston Malcom, and Neal Machander will continue in their current capacities. Bill Arps will continue to serve as our photographic expert and Vi Hayes, a splendid proofreader who routinely saves our authors and editors from an array of embarrassing mistakes, will continue to perform just one of the many vital functions for APIC that in 1981 made her first (and still most deserving) recipient of our President's Award.

In *The Keynoter* itself, no major changes are forthcoming. We will continue to divert most "club news" to the APIC Newsletter, where it properly belongs, under the excellent aegis of Tom Mathews. We will continue our efforts to use *The Keynoter* to preserve the historical record of political material culture by picturing as many new or unusual items as possible and by publishing stories that focus on the items and their historical roles in the political process. We hope to continue offering special projects when possible. Finally, after the extraordinary work involved in putting together the special FDR issue, we will try to quickly get back on schedule in issuing future *Keynoters*!


Roger A. Fischer
Manuscript Editor


Managing Editor's Message

As you may have noted from the cover, this issue of *The Keynoter* concludes the 1983 publishing year. We are pleased to note that in 1983 APIC printed 108 pages plus covers while in the past, in four *Keynoters* 96 pages (plus covers) have been printed.

Due to our printing schedule for the Franklin D. Roosevelt *Keynoter*, the covers were printed and serialized when only a 56 page issue was planned. The wealth of material, however, and substantial financial assistance enabled the printing of an 84 page triple issue, while the cover indicated only a double issue. Therefore, though the number of separate issues in 1983 has been less, the overall product was larger in dimension and content than ever before.

In 1984, we will return to the regular printing schedule of four separate issues, in March, June, September and December.

Finally, Roger and I want to thank the many members who expressed their appreciation for the Roosevelt issue. For us, Bill Arps and Ronnie Lapinsky, this was the most complicated project we had ever attempted, and we are very pleased that it was so well received. Thank you all again.


Robert A. Fratkan
Managing Editor

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Illustrations: The Editors would like to thank Al Anderson, Earl Dodge, Ted Hake, Ed Mitchell, John Pfeifer, Morton Rose, Gordon Steimle and the Smithsonian Institution for providing items and photographs for this issue.

Covers: Front: Davis sheet music, black and white; **Back:** Cardboard fan with wooden handle, black on light tan.

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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**IN THE NEXT ISSUE**

The Spring Keynoter will feature articles on the two campaigns of Thomas E. Dewey, the Great Dayton Barbecue of 1842, and Eric Sebastian, the "candidate" of the Hamiltonian Party.

John W. Davis

DOWN ON THE FARM IN INDIANA

John D. Pfeiffer

It was a bright, sunny autumn afternoon in Richmond, Indiana, where hundreds of people had come to the Pennsylvania Railroad depot to see a candidate for the presidency of the United States. No photographer was present to record the startled expressions on their faces as the speaker stepped onto the platform, pointed to a ruddy-faced coal miner in the front row and asked, "Are you afraid to go to sleep at night for fear that the 'bogy man' will get you before you wake?" When the murmur in the crowd had subsided, the silver-haired speaker continued, saying that if they should awaken from a sound sleep to see before them at the foot of their beds this "bogy man," they should immediately rise up, pull off his hood, lay open his coat, grab away his revolver and bomb, and the grim spectre of doom standing before them would be none other than Senator Robert M. LaFollette! Before the laughter and applause died away, the candidate began to explain why LaFollette was a "bogy man" and to attack the propaganda that had created this dread figure. He cited claims by Republican party leaders that if people voted in sufficient numbers for either himself or the Progressive from Wisconsin, no candidate would receive a majority of electoral votes, the contest would pass to the House of Representatives, chaos would sweep the nation, and that "Communist-sympathizer" LaFollette would probably become president! He then told the crowd:

While I disagree with many of Senator LaFollette's proposals, I know that to implement any of them he must carry a majority of the electoral college; he must carry two thirds of the Congress; he must carry the legislatures of three fourths of the states. When I pick up my atlas and look at the map of the United States, I cannot lie awake nights for fear that a Red is going to get me before the morning rises. I cannot accept that, my friends, as the cardinal issue in this campaign!

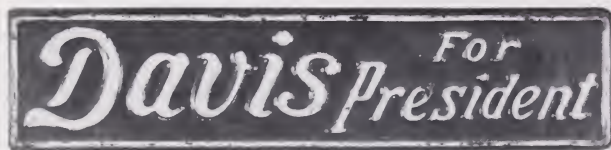
The speech went on for more than an hour. When his train pulled away from Richmond, bound for Indianapolis, John W. Davis — former ambassador to Great Britain,

congressman from West Virginia, and now the Democratic nominee for the presidency of the United States — had given the crowd an old-fashioned "stemwinder" of a speech and in so doing had officially kicked off his second and most crucial 1924 midwestern campaign swing.

Davis realized early that if he was to win in November he must concentrate his efforts on reaching the mass of voters who had been hurt the most by the postwar economic conditions. He felt that his greatest strength lay in the Midwest, where factory workers suffered under the policies of a Republican administration and farm prices had fallen precipitously. Davis was aware of the growing discontent in the farming regions and felt that a major effort in such states as Indiana and Illinois could well bring these badly needed electoral votes into the Democratic column on election day.

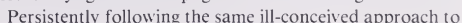
With the decision to campaign in Indiana, Davis was forced to meet head-on the issue of the Ku Klux Klan. In Indiana in the fall of 1924 the Klan cast a shadow over the entire political picture and the political affiliation of a candidate was less significant to the average voter than was the candidate's relationship to the "Invisible Empire." The history of the Klan in the state had been one of fear, politics, and personality. While the national parties jockeyed for victory in Indiana in closely contested presidential campaigns and Hoosier politicians eyed covetously the White House or a seat in the Senate, the KKK established a home in the state in the years following World War I. By 1923 there were klaverns all over Indiana, with membership estimated at somewhere between a quarter million and a half million. The Klan carefully infiltrated Protestant churches, social organizations, and even for a time the Republican party. Indiana Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson, developed his own private paramilitary intelligence network and police force that made him probably the most powerful man in the state.

Klan influence was pervasive in Indiana politics. Since the Republican and Democratic parties enjoyed nearly equal strength in the state, the Klan vote was often decisive.



METAL LICENSE ATTACHMENTS







the issues Davis then traveled to the agriculture-oriented communities of Lafayette, Crawfordsville, Greencastle, and Lebanon and urged voter support for his efforts in reforming the merchant marine and in new foreign policy initiatives! Although Hoosier voters were not completely oblivious to international concerns, the state's farmers had been truly devastated by falling farm prices after World War I and Indiana's rural vote would go to the presidential candidate who most convincingly pledged relief from the agricultural depression. But whenever Davis approached problems specific to the audience he was addressing, he seemed to revert quickly to international trade, oil, or other subjects far from the hearts and minds of most Hoosiers. At each stop he failed to court this vital farm constituency and so, rather than making new inroads into areas of traditional Republican strength, he lost the initiative he had won on his first trip to Indiana.

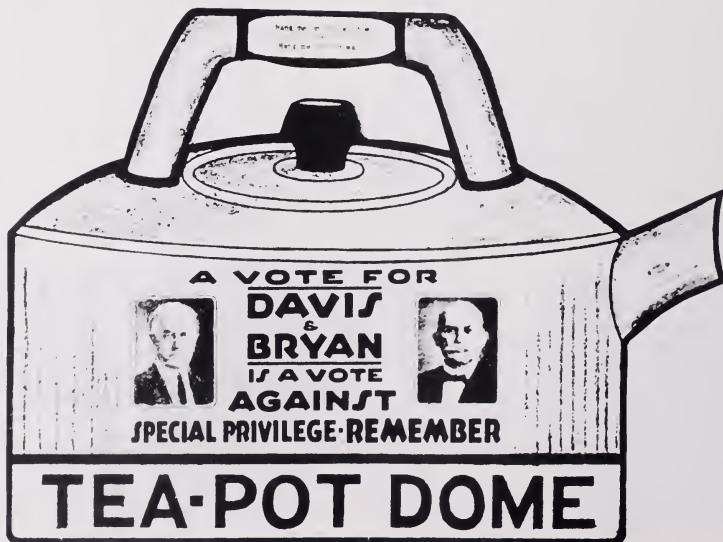
Compounding Davis' problem in the state was a decision made by state Democratic organizers to avoid the brief "whistlestop" speeches in the small towns that had made his first foray in Indiana so successful, so that Davis could concentrate on the larger cities and towns. Complaints from Democratic leaders in southern Indiana began streaming in to state party headquarters in Indianapolis that Davis was slighting their constituencies with his apparent disregard for

the small towns and hamlets along his railroad routes. But the appeals went unheeded and Davis closed his Indiana campaign on October 22 with a lackluster speech in Vincennes.

Observers believed that the trip had been somewhat successful, but all agreed that Davis' failure to hit more small towns had hurt his chances in southern Indiana. Adding to his problems in the region was the rumor circulating among coal miners that Davis was related to the late Senator Henry G. Davis, also a West Virginian. Senator Davis had earned the fierce hatred of most midwestern miners several years earlier when as a mine operator he had dealt ruthlessly with his employees during a strike. John W. Davis disclaimed any relationship to his namesake, but the name Davis in and of itself carried enough bitterness to hurt his chances among the miners. In a poll conducted at an Indianapolis hotel on October 23, President Coolidge was declared a two-to-one favorite to carry Indiana on election day.

On the same day the Klan issue in Indiana was revived when Democratic state senator Joseph Cravens, speaking on the courthouse steps in Shelbyville, appealed to those Klan members whom Davis had rebuked to forget their differences and remain loyal to their party, telling them: "I know, you Klan Democrats, and I am not afraid to use the word Klan, that Democracy is burned deeper into your

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WALL HANGER



hearts than is the fiery cross." A few days later Davis addressed the issue when he was interrupted in the middle of a speech in Cleveland by a heckler who wanted to know his position on the Klan. Davis answered that he did not believe that there was a man or woman in the United States interested in the outcome of the election who did not already know where he stood, but he went on to say:

I stand for the fundamental guarantees in favor of religious faith and practices in the United States and against any threat to diminish the right of any man because of his choice to adopt the religion he learned at his mother's knee. If ever the time came when I would not be willing to speak in defense of those principles, I hope my arm will fall palsied to my side and my tongue will cleave to the roof of my mouth.

By campaign's end, Davis had traveled some twelve thousand miles and had made some seventy formal talks and countless "whistlestop" appearances. In Indiana, where he had concentrated his efforts in hopes of an important victory, he had failed to put to rest the Klan issue (if indeed any Democrat could have done so in 1924) and he had failed to put forth any concrete proposals to enable farmers to recover from their depressed conditions. He had skirted their problems to concentrate on international trade. He promised them "honest days with Davis" when their prime concern was the price of corn and pork. Humorist Will Rogers may have best touched upon the limitations of the integrity issue when he quipped: "Davis announces that his policy will be honesty. That is not an issue in politics, it's a miracle! Can he get enough people to believe in miracles to elect him?"

The answer was no, both nationally and in Indiana. On election day the Hoosier state followed the rest of the nation outside the "solid South" and supported Coolidge overwhelmingly. Davis received 492,245 votes or 38.9%, more than ten percent better than his average nationally, but only because Robert LaFollette attracted only 71,700 votes, 5.6% of the Indiana total as opposed to the 16.6% he won nationally. Coolidge won the state easily with 703,042 votes, at 55.5% doing slightly better than his 54.0% national mandate.

Davis did poorly throughout the state. He nearly split the traditionally Democratic mining counties in southern

Indiana with Coolidge, but he failed to win a single farming county, losing many by margins of two to one or worse and coming close only in Fountain County, home of the more popular Democratic gubernatorial candidate, C. B. McCulloch. In five counties where he had campaigned extensively — Allen, Howard, Madison, St. Joseph, and Wayne — the dimensions of his defeat range from three-to-two to nearly two-to-one. In Indiana Klan country he fared even worse, losing Lake County to Coolidge 25,762-8,990, losing populous Madison County to the president by 36,000 votes, and being swamped 5,616-1,639 in Porter County.

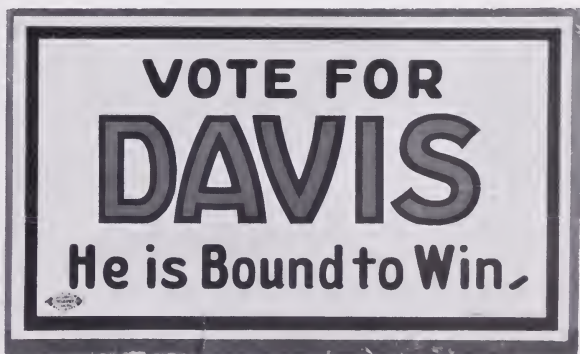
Although his chances for victory in Indiana were slim from the outset, they hinged upon his ability to accomplish two tasks. The first was to convince the farmers that only the Democrats could solve their severe problems. But while he denounced the Republican program, he failed to offer any sound proposals of his own. Unfortunately for Davis, corn and hog prices began to rise in the autumn of 1924, worldwide demand for wheat was growing, and a general sense of recovery was felt by farmers in Indiana and throughout the Midwest. Observing something indefinite about the Democratic approach to farm policy, they saw no reason to change leadership at a time when they were beginning to see signs of improvement. The second challenge facing Davis in Indiana was to force Coolidge to face the Klan issue while personally avoiding the wrath of both the Klan and its adversaries. But "Silent Cal" lived up to his nickname and wisely kept quiet on the issue while Davis voiced his own personal anti-Klan beliefs but always stopped short of committing his party to total condemnation. The Republicans concentrated their fire upon LaFollette and the Progressives, in effect placing the Democrats almost in a third-party role in the rhetoric. In the end, Davis failed to generate either Klan support or the gratitude of the opponents of the "Invisible Empire."

A man of great wit and wry humor, Davis was asked after the campaign had run its course by a rigidly pious friend if during the race he had ever said anything that he had not believed. "Oh yes," he replied, "I went around the country telling people I was going to be elected, and I knew I hadn't any more chance than a snowball in Hell."★



GLASS
BERRY
DISH

CARD-
BOARD
STORE
PLACARD



1924

THE ORDEAL OF THE DEMOCRATS

Roger Fischer

The Democratic party was destined for defeat in the 1924 presidential election — no matter whom it nominated or what sort of platform it fashioned or however well funded or brilliantly executed its campaign effort. Whatever the variables, it was simply a foregone conclusion that when all the votes were counted and all the posters lay shredded and soggy in city gutters and country ditches 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue would remain Republican by a comfortable margin. The majority party in American politics since the Civil War, the GOP had recaptured the presidency in 1920 when Warren G. Harding overwhelmed Democrat James M. Cox by seven million votes. Purged of its progressive and internationalist tendencies, Republicanism during the 1920s was remarkably in tune with the spirit of an electorate disillusioned with government activism at home and abroad, eager to allow American business to shower it with the fruits of the Industrial Revolution, and vaguely disturbed by the radicalism it perceived among minorities, labor activists, and intellectuals. The nation was so safely Republican that even the epic embarrassment of Harding and the sordid scandals of his “Ohio Gang” (including the sale of pardons and medical supplies for wounded veterans) could not restore the balance between the parties. When Harding died during the summer of 1923 he was mourned as a beloved national figure and the investigators and journalists who exposed “Teapot Dome” and other scandals were reviled for trying to dishonor his memory!

His replacement by the starchily upright Calvin Coolidge not only ended any problem the scandals might present for the Republicans, it also put at the head of the party a man whose image was almost perfectly in tune with the national mood during the period. At other times Coolidge might well have become a national joke; during the 1920s he was a godsend. Will Rogers might joke that the stiff, taciturn “Silent Cal” had been “weaned on a pickle,” but to much of the voting public he symbolized the solid Yankee virtues of the good old days, a nostalgic era free from “flapper girls,” unions, gangsters, slums, and “uppity” ethnic and religious minorities. Anti-government attitudes were mirrored faithfully by the New Englander who slept more than any other president and quipped that his long naps kept him away from his desk, where he would probably do more harm than good! At a time when a runaway best-seller was *The Man Nobody Knows*, Bruce Barton’s epic portrayal of Jesus Christ as an entrepreneur “who took twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and built an organization that

conquered the world,” Coolidge echoed well the temper of the times when he mouthed such platitudes as “The business of America is business” and “The man who builds a factory builds a temple; the man who works there, worships there.” A typically terse acknowledgement from Coolidge that he would consent to re-election ended any element of suspense in the 1924 election. Coolidge would be returned to the White House by a comfortable margin over any candidate the Democrats might select.

Given the overwhelming odds against it, the Democratic party would have been well advised to do what it would do in 1956 with Adlai Stevenson, or what the GOP would do in 1936 with Alf Landon and in 1944 with Thomas E. Dewey — nominate a reputable sacrificial lamb, campaign with spirit and dignity, and await with patience a shift in the mood of the electorate. Instead, diverse and antagonistic elements within the party did as they had done with William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and would do with George McGovern in 1972 (and as the Republicans would do with Barry Goldwater in 1964) — use a year when defeat seemed certain to struggle for the soul of the party. In 1924 such an internal struggle nearly tore apart America’s oldest political party.

Since its creation in the days of Andrew Jackson, the Democratic party had harbored diverse and often antagonistic elements. Generalizations on the anatomy of a major party are always difficult, for the Democrats and Republicans alike have traditionally been loose coalitions of literally hundreds of ideological, interest-group, and local factions with as many distinct agendas. It is clear, however, that in 1924 the dominant element within the Democratic party remained the bloc of westerners and southerners that had seized control of the party for Bryan and free silver from the Cleveland conservatives in 1896. Far from a monolithic force since then, this element was nevertheless essentially rural, overwhelmingly old-stock American and Protestant, and increasingly conservative on social issues — precisely the characteristics that would unite its delegations in stubborn opposition to the presidential aspirations of a “wet” eastern Catholic of immigrant roots championed by Tammany Hall!

This man, New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, represented a dramatically different wing of the party, a faction that was by 1924 large, powerful, and no longer willing to take a back seat in Democratic politics. Since 1830 nearly forty million immigrants had streamed into the United



States, many of them Roman Catholics and Jews who settled in the burgeoning industrial cities and mill towns of the Eastern Seaboard and the Midwest. With the exception of many Italians, whose aversion to the Irish caused them to vote Republican in many places, urban Catholic and Jewish immigrants overwhelmingly found a home in the Democratic party. By 1924 these ethnics outnumbered Protestant Democrats in the most industrialized eastern states and formed powerful minority blocs within party organizations in the other states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. Their journey up the political ladder from ward gangs to city halls and finally into a few statehouses had been long and tedious and for generations the ethnics had been patient, settling for a slice of the patronage and an array of platform planks on such matters as home rule for Ireland and a national holiday honoring Columbus. All the while they had faithfully delivered the vote for national candidates and causes that meant little to them, even on occasion transforming a Bryan into "O'Brien" on sample ballots to rally the Irish to a crusade for western wheat and Rocky Mountain silver!

By 1924 the Democratic ethnics were running out of patience. This was especially true of the Irish Catholics, many of whom had been Americans for four or five generations and loyal Democrats for virtually as long. They viewed with anger the support or silence of western and southern Democrats on prohibition, even though much of the propaganda on behalf of the "noble experiment" was blatantly anti-Irish. They felt uncomfortable when agrarian Democrats continued to treat as a revered elder statesman William Jennings Bryan, who had abandoned politics to take up the crusade to force upon children of all faiths a school curriculum based upon his own rigid fundamentalist Protestantism. They were truly alarmed by the success of the Ku Klux Klan, the hooded order dedicated to combatting the "Vatican menace" with fiery crosses and terrorist violence, in taking over the Democratic party in a few states and cowing the party into silent neutrality in others. And in the "Happy Warrior" Al Smith they had a candidate whose odyssey from New York's Lower East Side to the governor's mansion in Albany made him a compelling symbol of their cause and whose proven appeal as a campaigner and performance in office made him at least as politically viable as the other serious 1924 Democratic presidential contenders. Smith's nomination and a platform plank condemning the Ku Klux Klan became the two great priorities for Irish Democrats in 1924.

A spirited struggle for the nomination was nothing new for Democrats, but the underlying conflict between two inherently alien cultures — East vs. South and West; city

vs. country; Catholic vs. Protestant; immigrant vs. old-stock American; wet vs. dry — posed a very real threat to the existence of the party itself. The result, as British historian Andrew Sinclair has aptly written, was "the longest and most unpleasant convention in a party history of long and unpleasant conventions" in Madison Square Garden in June and July of 1924.

The major decision facing the Democrats was never whether or not Smith would be nominated, but which of several candidates the heartland Democrats would unite behind to deny Smith the nomination. This was essentially settled in several primary contests between Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama and former treasury secretary William Gibbs McAdoo of California. Underwood was unquestionably one of the outstanding public figures of his time, a vintage Dixie progressive and author of the 1913 Underwood Tariff who had served ten terms in the House and then in 1915 moved to the Senate, where he became Democratic floor leader and one of Woodrow Wilson's most effective lieutenants. In 1912 he had vied with Wilson and Champ Clark for the Democratic presidential nomination and in 1924 he ran again. McAdoo, Wilson's excellent treasury secretary and also his son-in-law, had won national respect for supervising the establishment of the Federal Reserve System and for his brilliant co-ordination of the Liberty Loan drives during World War I. He had wanted to campaign openly for the Democratic presidential nomination four years earlier, but his father-in-law's coy refusal to renounce a third term put him in a difficult position. In 1924 he ran in earnest. In other years he might have proved no match for Underwood, but in 1924 the Alabamian's gritty opposition to Prohibition and the Ku Klux Klan led to a succession of defeats against McAdoo, who remained silent on these issues.

This silence did in Underwood, but it also proved costly to McAdoo, for it prompted several favorite-son candidacies (most notably that of Ohio's James M. Cox, the party's 1920 presidential nominee) merely to deny delegate votes to a candidate seen as a beneficiary of the Ku Klux Klan. This perception was probably quite unfair to McAdoo. Indeed, those historians who have glibly dismissed the contest between McAdoo and Smith as a simple liberal vs. conservative struggle have been guilty of a gross over-generalization. A decade later, Franklin Roosevelt had a staunch supporter in McAdoo at a time when his old friend Smith was "taking a walk" to the Republicans and the 1924 compromise candidate acceptable to the Smith forces, John W. Davis, was helping create the stridently anti-New Deal American Liberty League! In 1924 cultural values and ethnic and religious traditions, not political philosophy, divided

Democrats.

McAdoo's chances for the nomination were also severely hurt by the disclosure a few months before the convention that he had accepted a \$25,000 legal retainer from Edward L. Doheny, the oil executive whose bribing of Harding interior secretary Albert B. Fall for the Elk Hills oil leases in California created a scandal second only to Teapot Dome. Although the retainer was perfectly proper and was returned as soon as McAdoo learned of the Elk Hills incident, Smith supporters were able to gloat that there was "no oil on Al" and nonaligned Democrats were understandably reluctant to compromise the scandal issue, the one real campaign theme they had that might put Coolidge at a disadvantage.

Given the two thirds rule for nomination still in force among Democrats, the result of the Klan issue and the Doheny retainer was the virtual certainty that no active contender could possibly win the Democratic nomination and that a harmonious compromise between the Smith and McAdoo forces on an alternate standardbearer was most unlikely. The party's 1924 convention was thus a disaster waiting to happen as the delegates gathered in New York for the opening gavel on June 24. Had the party been contemplating suicide, it could not have picked a more promising site than Madison Square Garden, for nearly two of every three delegates had come Protestant and "dry" to this predominantly Catholic and resolutely "wet" metropolis to deny the party's highest honor to a son of the Fourth Ward, St. James Church, and Murphy's Canoe Place Inn just a stroll away.

The slim hope that unity would prevail received a boost with the selection as presiding chairman of Montana Senator Thomas Walsh, an Irish Catholic but a western "dry" whose investigation of the Harding oil scandals and gentle wit made him popular among Smith and McAdoo supporters alike. But a long and bitter platform fight over the Klan ended any hopes for Democratic unity. A weak majority report reaffirming traditional Democratic devotion to religious freedom and civil liberties but avoiding mention of the Klan by name evoked the strenuous opposition of the ethnics, who countered with a strongly written minority plank condemning the Klan. Their spirited appeals were answered in kind by rural delegates from South and West. When William Jennings Bryan, still the beloved "Great Commoner" to the agrarian Protestants but to Al Smith's Tammany Irishmen packing the galleries an obnoxious symbol of Prohibition, fundamentalism, and "redneck" bigotry, rose to speak against the minority plank, all civility left Madison Square Garden. From the galleries came choruses of boos and hisses and then the rising chant "No Oil on Al, No Oil on Al." A furious Bryan gestured to them with clenched fists and thundered, "You do not represent the future of this country!" This ill-tempered exchange neatly symbolized the conflict that divided the delegates and it set the tone for two weeks of protracted hostility that followed. The Bryanites prevailed on the Klan question by four votes out of a thousand, but the damage was done.

When the presidential balloting began, it soon became apparent that neither Smith nor McAdoo could be



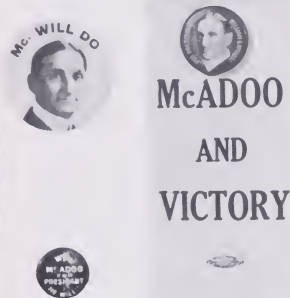
nominated. Smith's delegate count peaked at 368, barely half the number needed for nomination and just one more than he needed to deny the prize to McAdoo if all anti-Smith delegates came over to the Californian. McAdoo had passed up his chance for a nomination when he failed to give the Smith forces a token victory on the Klan issue, but he remained the front-runner for days of endless balloting, hitting his peak of 530 (just 20 short of a majority but 202 less than two thirds) on the sixty-ninth ballot. Still Smith and his supporters refused to concede the nomination to the man who had kept his silence on the Klan. On the next ballot McAdoo's delegates began one by one to lose the faith, succumbing at long last to the heat and smoke in the Garden and to the constant tension that required as many as a thousand of "New York's finest" to keep delegates and spectators from doing bodily harm to each other. The drift was not to Smith, however, but to a number of favorite-son hopefuls. Samuel Ralston, the aged senator from Indiana, watched his vote count slowly increase to nearly one hundred and then withdrew from consideration. Finally, after more than two weeks and an even hundred ballots, Smith followed suit on condition that McAdoo do the same and let the delegates make a free choice. Three ballots later the exhausted convention anointed as its nominee John W. Davis of West Virginia. In an effort to balance the ticket and to atone for the rude treatment Bryan had received from the galleries, his brother Charles was the vice presidential nominee.

Davis may well have been the darkest of all darkhorse

nominees in the history of American politics. Born in Clarksburg, West Virginia, in 1873, Davis was the son of a former Democratic congressman. He was educated at Washington and Lee University and became a lawyer in partnership with his father. He served a term in the West Virginia legislature, but was so much in demand as an attorney for railroad, lumber, and mining companies that he abandoned politics to build an enormously successful legal practice. He was elected to Congress as a Democrat in 1910 and re-elected in 1912, achieving a reputation for his support of Woodrow Wilson's tariff and labor reform initiatives. As Wilson's solicitor general from 1913 to 1918, Davis earned a sterling reputation as a lawyer's lawyer, successfully arguing before the Supreme Court the illegality

convince voters that the division, conflict, and fuzziness on the issues exhibited during the convention were not typical of the Democratic party. The Davis-Bryan ticket itself was something of an absurdity, pairing a Wall Street lawyer and Bar Association president with the brother of a man still regarded by eastern conservatives as little better than a prairie Bolshevik. The elder Bryan could never bring himself to endorse J. P. Morgan's lawyer, fiscal conservatives found Charles Bryan no more to their liking than they had found the "Great Commoner," and the Democratic ethnics (except in New York, where Smith stumped energetically for Davis and picked up some valuable 1928 IOUs in the process) generally sat on their hands.

The Davis campaign proved no more adept in its



of the Oklahoma "grandfather clause" and the Alabama convict-lease system and the constitutionality of the 1917 Selective Service Act. From 1918 to 1921 he served as Wilson's ambassador to Great Britain. In 1921 he returned to the private sector as head of a prestigious Wall Street law firm and counsel to J. P. Morgan and Company and several other massive corporations. A year later he became president of the American Bar Association after rejecting an overture to have him appointed a justice on the Supreme Court.

Davis might well have responded to his party's call in 1924 as did the man being ridden out of town on a rail, "If it weren't for the honor of the thing I would just as soon walk." If the Democratic nomination had been no great prize before the convention began, it had become virtually worthless by the time the closing gavel sounded seventeen days later. Unfortunately for the Democrats, their Madison Square Garden marathon attracted extraordinary public attention. During its run ten Broadway plays closed down for lack of business. For the first time ever a national audience was able to eavesdrop on a convention via radio. As a result, Davis was a nominee in need of a miracle. To stand a chance against the Republicans, his campaign would have to harmonize essentially irreconcilable divisions and at the same time project an image of direction and competence sufficient to erase memories of the convention that had nominated him.

It failed on both counts, doing remarkably little to

exploitation of the issues. The Democrats made much of Teapot Dome and other Harding scandals, but with the rigidly righteous Coolidge heading their ticket the Republicans had little to fear from the morality issue. Davis attacked such Republican favoritism to big business as the protectionist Fordney-McCumber Tariff and recent tax breaks for corporations and the rich, but his status as a Wall Street lawyer and the public's satisfaction with "Coolidge prosperity" effectively defused his arguments. As John Pfeifer describes elsewhere in this issue, Davis straddled the Klan issue in such a way that he pleased neither KKK supporters nor enemies. On Prohibition his approach, as Andrew Sinclair has quipped, was one of "shifting uneasily from dry foot to wet foot and ending on his knees." His continual insistences that he would enforce the law properly alienated "wet" voters without pleasing "drys," while such cryptic catch phrases as "home rule" and "personal liberty is the doctrine of self-restraint" puzzled "wets" and angered the "drys."

In seemingly trying to please everyone, Davis wound up only pleasing enough southerners to prevent Dixie from the ultimate apostasy of going Republican. His 136 electoral votes all came from the "solid South." Coolidge won in a walk with 382 electoral votes, losing only the South to Davis and Wisconsin to Robert LaFollette, and 15,275,003 popular votes (nearly 54 percent). The 8,385,506 votes won by Davis (three fourths of a million fewer than Cox had polled four

years earlier) represented only twenty-nine percent of the total. LaFollette garnered 4,826,471 votes, almost exactly one of every six votes cast, and the thirteen electoral votes of his home state. Enough Republican congressional candidates were successful riding the Coolidge coattails to increase the GOP's majority from nine to seventeen in the Senate and from twenty to sixty-four in the House. These returns only confirmed what the brawling convention in Madison Square Garden had revealed so clearly, that the Democratic party was in trouble so deep that it would take a Great Depression and a man named Roosevelt to restore it to health.

The failure of the Davis campaign to light fires at the grassroots level was mainly responsible for an extraordinarily sparse crop of campaign items — even more meager than the much more poorly funded Cox-Roosevelt effort in 1920. By all indications, the Davis-Bryan campaign inspired fewer varieties of campaign objects in smaller quantities than any other major party presidential effort since Reconstruction. Moreover, the Davis items that did appear were for the most part singularly devoid of symbolic expression or references to campaign issues, much like the presidential effort that inspired them. An exception was a small number of Davis objects trying to exploit the Harding scandals. A cardboard teapot, most likely used as a doorhanger, attacked “special privilege” on one side and “the party responsible for “TEA-POT DOME” on the other. A celluloid button featured a representation of Teapot Dome and the inscription “Honest Days with Davis.” Another button pledged “Back to Honesty with Davis.” A truly sensational “Honest Government” Davis-Bryan jugate button was discovered recently, attached to a delegate ribbon from the 1924 Utah state Democratic convention promising “Better Days with Davis.”

Several other anti-Teapot Dome items appeared in 1924. A 1" celluloid button featured a teapot labeled “DOOM.” A cute caricature button featured a GOP elephant simmering in a “Teapot Dome” teapot. A “GOP/Your Waterloo” button featured a teapot superimposed on the Capitol dome. Another button urged “Take a Kick at the Teapot.” A brass lapel pin shaped like a teapot warned, “Don't Forget Teapot.” These items are usually classified as Davis campaign objects and they may well have been just that. We cannot be certain, however, for the Democrats were by no means the only party exploiting the issue in 1924. Communist candidate William Z. Foster was assisted by a lithograph button demanding “Down with the Capitalist Tea Pot Dome/Forward to a Workers & Farmers Government.” The LaFollette campaign inspired a “C'mon Bob, Let's Go” celluloid button offering voters the choice of LaFollette or a teapot and a small brass teapot lapel pin that read “LaFollette Did It,” a reference to his role in the Senate investigations of the Harding scandals.

For collectors today, as they probably did for political activists back in 1924, these Teapot Dome items inject a little excitement into an unusually dull campaign. That Davis proved to be such a dull and inept candidate is ironic, for he was a keenly intelligent and witty man who might well have made an excellent president. After 1924 Davis returned

to the practice of law and continued to distinguish himself at his chosen calling. When he died in 1955 he had argued 141 cases before the Supreme Court, a number not equaled by any lawyer in this century. A judicial conservative who believed strongly in following legal precedent, states' rights, and strict construction, Davis argued in a losing effort for the southern school boards resisting desegregation in **Brown v. Topeka**, perhaps the most important Court ruling of modern times. Yet Davis remained a firm civil libertarian who defended atomic physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer against the McCarthyites in 1954 and whose moving defense of conscientious objection in **U.S. v. Macintosh** (1931) is still considered the classic summation on the subject. “Of all the persons who appeared before the Court in my time,” observed Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, “there was never anybody more elegant, more clear, more concise, and more logical than John W. Davis.”

After 1924 Davis had little to do with politics. In 1928 he campaigned for Al Smith, as Smith had done for him in 1924, but by 1934 he was sufficiently disillusioned with the direction his party was heading under Franklin Roosevelt to serve as a founder of the stridently anti-New Deal American Liberty League. He remained nominally a Democrat, but most of the candidates he quietly supported were Republicans. When he died in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1955, one of his partners said of him that he had been “a peculiar combination — an aristocrat with great humility...socially light, never heavy or ponderous, never vulgar. He did everything with elegance and grace.” This side of Davis' character was exhibited shortly after his massive 1924 defeat, when he was asked by a friend how on earth he could have lost both wet and dry vote simultaneously. He told his friend about the letter he had received from a Democrat and Prohibitionist who wrote to say that he was sorry to have to cast his first vote ever for a Republican, but that he just could not vote for a Democrat who had been president of the New York Bar Association! ★

Items of Interest

This very attractive unlisted Greeley-Brown ferrotype jugate was found in a small antique shop in Galena, Illinois this past summer. It serves to remind us that there is still a great deal of rare material waiting to be discovered.



Benjamin Harrison

AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896

John D. Pfeifer

Benjamin Harrison ribbons and other items dated 1888 and 1892 are easy to categorize as campaign objects from his two presidential races against Democrat Grover Cleveland, as are the abundant array of 1889 Harrison inaugural items. But two 1896 Harrison ribbons in my collection, one printed for a reception on October 20, 1896, and the other issued to commemorate a Harrison appearance in Kendallville, Indiana, on October 31, 1896, presented something of a mystery to me. Harrison had been in political retirement, after all, for nearly four years after his narrow defeat by Cleveland in 1892. He never again sought elective public office, I knew. So I naturally wondered why Harrison had inspired these two campaign ribbons, dated during the final days of the epic "Battle of the Standards" between William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan. Through a little research, I discovered that Harrison played a valuable role in the decisive victory of McKinley, Republicanism, and "sound money" in 1896.

The presidential campaign of 1896 was waged over fundamental issues that would determine the future direction of American domestic and foreign policy. Following the Civil War America emerged as a world power through its growing industrial strength and its rich agricultural tradition. But beginning in 1893 the nation found itself engulfed in a serious economic depression resulting in large part from an essential instability in its monetary system. Americans were at the time firmly committed to the gold standard and the concept of "sound money," requiring all treasury notes to be backed fully by gold. With gold in short supply, our monetary supply could not expand to meet the needs of a burgeoning population and an expanding national economy. Farmers in the South, Midwest, and Great Plains states were suffering especially from a combination of high interest rates on mortgages and crop liens and steadily sinking commodity prices. With an abundant supply of silver coming from the mines of the Rocky Mountain states, farmers were demanding silver coinage, hoping that the resulting inflation would drive prices up and permit them to repay their debts with cheaper money. Naturally the eastern bankers and creditors who held notes stood firm for the gold standard and tight money.

Republican victories in the off-year elections of 1894 raised hopes of success in the 1896 presidential contest. Nowhere were Republican expectations greater than in Indiana, where Cleveland had taken the state with less than 46% of the popular vote in 1892. His margin of victory had been slightly more than 7000 votes, with the Populists winning 22,000 votes that were now up for grabs. Indiana would

return to the Republican column if the right spokesman for McKinley and "sound money" could be found. The choice was an easy one for party leaders, who turned once again to their favorite son Benjamin Harrison and sent him forth to take the stump one more time in the closing days of the 1896 campaign.

Harrison's train left Indianapolis on October 20, bound for Evansville with stops on the way. He made a brief address on the west side of Indianapolis and moved on to Mooresville. There he delivered a speech denouncing the flood of cheap foreign imports due to an ineffective tariff and the low price of wheat due to the cheapening of the dollar. His next stop was Martinsville, long known as conservative in politics and friendly territory for the "sound money" gospel. Harrison took this opportunity to criticize President Cleveland's use of federal troops to crush the 1894 Pullman strike, but reaffirmed the right of the federal government to enforce the free flow of commerce between the states. Stopping briefly in Spencer, he ridiculed the Democratic notion of the "cheap dollar" and free silver, arguing: "The Democrats are offering you a trick, that is all. They offer you a cheap dollar so that your wheat prices seem to be higher, but in fact they offer you a silver dollar, the metal in which is worth only fifty cents, in exchange for the dollar you now have that is worth one hundred cents."

Harrison's train reached Worthington shortly after noon, where he and his party were taken to the town square by carriage and treated to a procession requiring an hour and ten minutes to pass Harrison's reviewing stand. It was reported that every marcher showed his true colors by wearing sashes, hats, ribbons, or full uniforms of gold. The main feature of the parade was a log cabin on wheels, complete with a live coon and a barrel of hard cider, reminiscent of the 1840 Tippecanoe campaign of his grandfather William Henry Harrison. After making short stops in the mining towns of Bushrod and Edwardsport, the procession steamed into Vincennes, where a crowd of ten thousand cheering Republicans escorted Harrison and his entourage to a stand erected near the railroad station. There Harrison made his first direct reference to William Jennings Bryan, proclaiming:

We cannot have bimetalism with free coinage. This government is a strong one, but it cannot fix the price of anything. If you want to know what a thing is worth, you must go to the market to find out. You cannot go to a statute book. It may declare that a bushel of oats is the same value as a bushel of wheat,



but that does not make it so. No more can the government fix the price of silver in the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold and make it sound. If it is so, you do not need a statute declaring the fact. If it is not so, it is absolutely impossible to make it so by legislation. For Mr. Bryan to say otherwise is sheer nonsense.

Harrison's next stop was in Princeton, where Gibson County sentiment for free silver ran high. Much to Harrison's satisfaction more than twenty thousand people had come to the fairgrounds to hear him speak. The local newspaper reported that "the crowd seemed like a seal of gold, with hats and bunting and ribbon badges everywhere." Harrison later recalled that he had never been greeted with so much enthusiasm in his long political career. At the final stop in Evansville, he made a stirring plea to Republicans who may have been leaning toward the free-silver heresy to consider recent events and reject Bryan's doctrines. He recalled once again Cleveland's handling of the railway strike and what he portrayed as the subordination of federal law to the consent of Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld, in-

sisting: "Without any personal interest in this campaign or any further political ambition, I come here tonight to present my protest against doctrines that are subversive to the honor and prosperity of the country and that will trail its great flag in the dust."

A day later the Democratic Indianapolis *Sentinel* charged that "the little ex-president chopped up his old speeches and fed the particles to the people yesterday. The logical conclusion to all he said was a defense of the trusts and money power," adding in mock embarrassment: "It was a humiliating spectacle to see an ex-president perambulating Indiana and defending gold propaganda that pulled down the gold reserve during his administration and made frequent raids on the public treasury since he left Washington." The Republican Indianapolis *Journal*, however, interpreted Harrison's junket in a much different light, enthusing:

It was the verdict of the party men near him that the General had never been so strong, so determined or so effective in his appeals to his countrymen as he has been today. The ex-president has made twelve speeches during the day and has been seen by no less than 93,000 people. If there is anything to be learned from the size of the crowds and the enthusiasm shown today, it is that Indiana is ready to return big Republican pluralities surpassing the landslide year of 1894.

Indiana Republican leaders apparently agreed with the opinion of the *Journal*, for they immediately began to organize a second Harrison whistlestop tour, this time to cover the northeastern part of Indiana. Rested from his southern swing, Harrison again took to the campaign trail, this time visiting twenty-one Hoosier cities in two days. This time Indiana Democrats were also ready for him and attempts were made to harass and heckle the old campaigner at several stops along the way. In Muncie the announcement that Harrison was going to speak from a stand in front of the courthouse drew a large crowd determined to hear and see the former president, with several thousand men and women taking positions near the stand and holding them through the morning until his arrival. Local Democrats had conceived a plan to bring Eugene Debs in from Terre Haute in an effort to undermine Harrison's effectiveness in this industrial, union oriented city. They planned to have Debs speak from the same platform as Harrison, but as soon as the young union organizer arrived and began to speak from the courthouse steps he was quickly surrounded and muffled in his efforts. Always the crafty politician, Harrison took advantage of the disturbance to denounce Debs for his conduct during the Pullman strike and to link that event to the upcoming presidential contest:

We may have a false tariff policy and it may hurt us greatly; we may have a false financial policy and it might hurt us too. But out of that sort of thing we will get along somehow. We may lose our wealth, our contentment, and our happiness and still make it right somehow, but if we surrender the power of the President to enforce the laws of the United States and make

him go on bended knee to the governor of any state and ask his consent, we lose the honor of the country and we will never regain it.

On the night of October 31 Harrison returned to Indianapolis from his northern junket. He had made twenty-three speeches to an estimated 150,000 Indianans. The Indianapolis *Journal* made the observation that "there is no way to measure the good done for the Republican cause by this remarkable bit of campaigning, but it is possible to measure in some degree the strength of that cause by the demonstrations along the line" and predicted that "if surface indications mean anything the tremendous crowds of people and unbounded enthusiasm for anything Republican show that Indiana is going for McKinley and "sound money" by such figures as have never been known in this state before."

As students of the 1896 election know well, with the East conceded to McKinley and the South, trans-Mississippi farm states, and Rocky Mountain mining states conceded to

Bryan, the presidency hinged on the key midwestern states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. On election day McKinley swept all five and in the process won a decisive 271-176 electoral vote victory. He carried Indiana by nearly 18,000 votes. Although it is impossible to determine with precision the effect of Benjamin Harrison's two whistlestop tours on Hoosier voters, an incident attesting to Harrison's persuasiveness was related by Indianapolis resident Joseph Heid, who observed a well dressed man in his forties in the crowd as Harrison's train pulled away from its first stop. The man turned to Heid and said, "That man Harrison is an elegant talker as well as a gentleman and his political arguments are sound to the core. I am done with free silver and am going to cast from my coat this Bryan button and in November vote for McKinley, which will be my first vote on the Republican side." With that he jerked a Bryan pin from the lapel of his jacket and threw it as far as he could, proclaiming his conversion to Republicanism and "sound money." ★

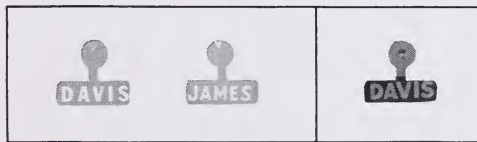
COLLECTING FACTS—A NEW KEYNOTER FEATURE

The Good News And The Bad News

Bob Fratkin

For many years, a white on blue "Davis" tab has appeared in the hobby. The tab has a shiny metal back with a small circular manufacturer's stamp. This tab has been regularly identified as a John W. Davis campaign item, and runs about \$25 at bourses and in auctions. The good news is that it is a Davis tab. But the bad news is that it almost certainly was not for John W. Davis. The reasons for this statement are evident and easily discernible:.

1.) The Davis tab is exactly the same design, size and colors as a "James" tab which was used in Pennsylvania in 1938, the only year that Arthur H. James (for governor) and James Davis (for senator) ran on the same ticket. Also from this campaign is a joint "Davis-James Labor Committee" 7/8" button that ran in Bob Coup's recent Historicana auction (No. 23, item No. 726). 2.) The backs of the two tabs are also identical. 3.) The known Coolidge tab from 1924, in the shape of a California license plate, is not made of tin, but rather of a copper-bronze alloy with a distinctly different foldover piece. The few Hoover tabs that are ascribed to 1928 are also in copper-bronze, with a more rounded tab top. 4.) The first white metal (tin) tabs do not appear until the 1932 campaign. The copper-bronze tab continued to appear through 1936. In 1970, the APIC published a John W. Davis project,



picturing the then known John W. Davis items. At the time, the tab appeared in the Davis project. As frequently happens in a growing hobby though, additional scholarship can cast doubt on previous assumptions. This is one of those instances.

Ted Hake, in his *Political Buttons: Book II*, printed in 1977, identified this Davis tab (Hake No. 2024) as "1938 Pa Governor (sic) tab" but incorrectly left Hake No. 2025 (pictured at right) as presumably John W. Davis. This second tab appears also to be a 1930's item for the reasons stated above, while the bold lettering suggests it is even more recent. There have been a number of candidates named Davis running for state and federal offices since the thirties. ★

Stereographs

John Ward

The stereograph first became popular in the United States during the decade before the Civil War and remained popular into the depression years of the 1930's. Long before the genesis of motion pictures, stereographs enabled millions of Americans to view scenes of Civil War battles, the funeral of Abraham Lincoln, the construction of the trans-continental railroad, and the public appearances of celebrities. Large numbers of Americans received their first three-dimensional images of political candidates and campaigns from such stereographs, for a massive number of political and historical stereocards were made and marketed to an eager public. For modern collectors, these political stereocards provide an interesting and easily affordable collecting opportunity.

The early forms of photography — daguerrotype, tintype, ambrotype, calotype, and albumin — were all utilized to produce stereographs. Scenes of the London Crystal Palace were produced and marketed by the British firm of Negretti and Zambra during the great 1851 exposition, perhaps the first daguerrotype stereographs to attract widespread attention. At roughly the same time calotype card stereographs appeared in the United States, although they were never produced in large quantities and are considered valuable. Tintype stereographs were ill-suited for stereoviewing, so very few of them were ever made and all existing varieties are considered extremely rare. Glass stereographs appeared both in America and Europe as early as 1852, but they were not promoted commercially in the United States before 1855. Our first card stereotypes were of the calotype variety, but they were soon replaced by stereocards produced from colloidal glass negatives, initially reproduced on plain paper but subsequently on albumin paper.

The first stereographs were filmed by using two cameras side by side, producing two separate photographs. This method was rendered obsolete by the development of the binocular camera, equipped with dual lenses to provide dual images of a subject on a single negative plate. When the paired images were developed and viewed through a

stereoscope, the viewer would see the image in three dimensions. The stereoscope that became common in the United States was developed in 1859 by Oliver Wendell Holmes, the noted poet and physician (and father of legendary Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.). A relatively simple device, the Holmes stereoscope featured a lens (and usually a hood for shading light) at one end and a moveable holder for the card at the other end. When properly focused, the separate images blended into a single three-dimensional one, providing the viewer with a sense of "presence" lacking in simple illustrations.

Early American stereocards were extremely thin. The first series issued in the United States was called "American Stereographic Views," issued in 1854 and again in 1858 by William and Frederick Langenheim. From then until 1865 the dominant American stereocard producers were the Langenheims, Anthony, and D. Appleton & Company. From 1866 to 1890 Anthony, the Kilburn brothers, and the American Stereoscopic Company dominated the American market. After 1890 the major producers in this country were Underwood & Underwood, the Keystone View Company, Griffith & Griffith, and the H.C. White Company. A rarity before 1898, lithoprint stereographs made from plates or mats reproduced from photographs or artistic renderings enjoyed a great vogue in 1898 and remained popular for years afterward. Most such stereocards were multicolored (the earlier ones were colored manually), but black and white lithoprint stereographs were also produced, one of the rarest and most desirable sets being the "San Francisco Earthquake and Fire in 1906" series marketed that year by W. B. Smith.

Although stereocard portraits of presidents and presidential candidates are uncommon (especially rare are those portraying Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Garfield, and Hayes), scenes of such political events as campaign appearances and inaugurations were frequently reproduced on stereocards. For many Americans these stereocards provided a vicarious sense of participation that would not be surpassed until the coming of "Movietone News."★



THE WRECK OF THE BATTLESHIP MAINE

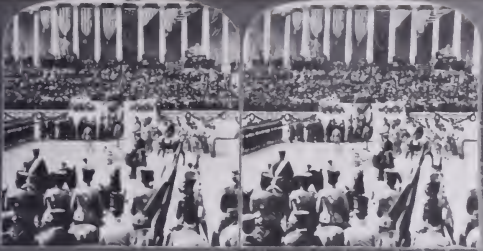


COL. ROOSEVELT AND THE "ROUGH RIDERS"

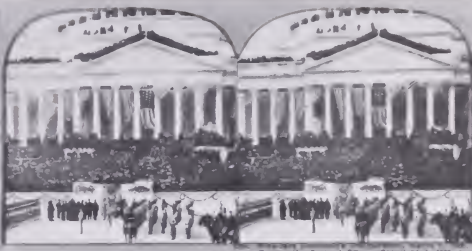




INAUGURATION OF McKINLEY



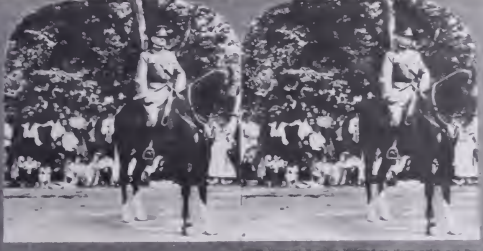
INAUGURATION OF T. ROOSEVELT (COLOR)



INAUGURATION OF T. ROOSEVELT (COLOR)



Happy—Gen. William B. Taft, the Choice of the Republican Party in the Presidential Campaign of 1908.



GENERAL "BLACKJACK" PERSHING



John Nance Garner

THE CACTUS UNDER FDR'S SADDLE

Michael Kelly

Texas Democrats once marked November 22 not as the day that Jack Kennedy died but as the day that Jack Garner was born. John Nance Garner is best known as the first of Franklin Roosevelt's three vice presidents, but he had a long and colorful political career of his own and twice, in 1932 and again in 1940, he challenged FDR for the presidency.

Born November 22, 1868, in Red River, Texas, John Nance Garner was the fourth in a series of firstborn sons with that name. Originally from Virginia, both the Garners and the Nances were old American families (one Nance fought with Washington at Braddock's Retreat and another at Yorktown). They moved to Tennessee in search of richer land and, like many others, left Tennessee in 1842 for the open spaces of Texas.

Young Jack Garner developed a keen interest in politics and was elected a county judge at twenty-five. Soon fixing his sights on a seat in Congress, he won a seat in the legislature in 1898 with the hope of influencing the redistricting of congressional districts to follow the 1900 census. Re-elected to the Texas legislature in 1900, he then carved out a congressional district for himself and came to Congress in 1902. He thus came to the House with Theodore Roosevelt in the presidency and stayed for thirty years, until the day that TR's cousin Franklin assumed the same position.

During his first term Garner developed close ties to a number of other freshman Democrats who would remain useful friends in the years ahead, including Oscar Underwood of Alabama, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and William Randolph Hearst of New York. A loyal team player, Garner became a popular and influential congressman and was active in the 1912 presidential campaign of House Speaker Champ Clark. The Texan rose to become the ranking Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee and eventually to the post of Minority Leader. In the midst of a deepening depression, the 1930 elections left the GOP barely in control of the House of Representatives. Nicholas Longworth, Garner's close friend and Theodore Roosevelt's son-in-law, was re-elected Speaker but died shortly thereafter. His death and those of a few other Republican congressmen threw the control of the House to the Democrats, who then selected Garner as the

new Speaker.

As 1932 approached and it began to look as if the Democratic nominee would be a sure bet against Herbert Hoover, publisher William Randolph Hearst was searching for an alternative to such "internationalist" Democrats as Franklin Roosevelt, Al Smith, and Newton Baker, all leading contenders for the nomination. His old friend John Nance Garner seemed like the answer. Soon readers of Hearst papers were being treated to a serialized biography of Garner portraying him as a true man of the people. Garner was personally cool to the idea and discouraged presidential talk. Without his permission Hearst entered a Garner proxy in the Georgia primary, but an active Roosevelt effort carried the contest by a margin of eight to one. FDR dealt a similar defeat to a more formal Garner effort in Nebraska. Even with these setbacks, interest began to rise in the Garner camp and Texas congressman Sam Rayburn launched an official Garner presidential organization. In the California primary Hearst joined forces with 1924 hopeful William Gibbs McAdoo to help Garner soundly defeat both FDR and Smith. California's 44 delegates joined with 46 from Texas gave Garner a solid delegate base that lifted him out of favorite son status and into the ranks of the serious contenders.

When the Democrats gathered in Chicago for their 1932 convention, FDR held a majority of the delegates but was short of the two thirds majority then required. His chief opponent was his former friend and now bitter enemy, Al Smith. The Smith forces were determined to hold firm in opposition to Roosevelt and prevent his nomination. The test would be how long Roosevelt's delegates would remain solid against Smith's hardliners and the ambitions of other hopefuls. Garner was clearly the third man in the equation; the key to the nomination would be his choice between uniting with Smith to eliminate Roosevelt or supporting Roosevelt in hopes of helping assure a Democratic victory in November.

On the first ballot Roosevelt won a majority but not the two thirds he needed. The vote was Roosevelt 666, Al Smith 201, Garner 90, and the remainder split among seven favorite son candidates. On the second ballot FDR inched up to 677, Smith dropped to 194, and Garner held at the



90 delegates from Texas and California. On the third ballot FDR gained five votes to 682, while Smith dropped to 190 and Garner climbed to 101. The convention adjourned for the night and sometime between the closing gavel and the next evening either a deal was struck between the Roosevelt and Garner forces or the Garner camp made a decision independently to come over to FDR. When the convention reconvened for the fourth ballot, California's McAdoo announced the switch of his delegation to FDR, the diehard Smith delegates screamed in anger. Remembering the brutal 1924 convention at which Smith had destroyed his own presidential ambitions, McAdoo seemed to take a bitter relish in his revenge upon the New Yorker.

It wasn't clear whether or not a formal deal had been made for Garner to receive the vice presidential nomination, but such was clearly the choice of the delegates. He was the unanimous choice of the body by voice vote following the seconding of his nomination by forty states, a striking contrast to the 190 delegates who opposed Roosevelt to the very end (with no motion offered to make his nomination unanimous).

After the triumph of the Roosevelt-Garner slate in November, Garner took the role of the loyal team player and served FDR faithfully during their first term. A conservative Democrat, he nevertheless kept his misgivings to himself and helped steer key New Deal legislation through the Congress. He was renominated with FDR in 1936 and

easily re-elected. When Roosevelt attempted to pack the Supreme Court with pro-New Deal judges in 1937, however, Garner finally split openly with FDR. Fearing that the president was about to seek his support in lobbying Congress on the scheme, "Cactus Jack" packed his bags and left Washington for an extended vacation at his Texas ranch. Relations between the two quickly deteriorated and as 1940 drew near, Vice President Garner let it be known that he thought that a third term for Roosevelt was a poor idea. Garner and Postmaster General James Farley were the two men willing to lead the challenge to FDR's third term ambitions.

Garner decided to oppose FDR personally for the nomination. He won the support of many businessmen, including Henry Ford, and filed in the Wisconsin, Illinois, California, and Oregon primaries. But Garner's 1940 campaign was a disaster. He won two delegates in Wisconsin but lost the popular vote to FDR by two to one. In Illinois Roosevelt beat him by a margin of more than five to one, in Oregon FDR prevailed by seven to one, and even in California (the state that gave Garner his greatest victory in 1932) the margin was six to one. When the Democratic convention opened in Chicago, Garner's headquarters was decorated with the mounted head of a Texas longhorn and live cactus plants. His campaign manager rode into the hotel lobby on a bronco, as cowboys unfurled "Go With Garner" banners. A bar with a free lunch completed the festivities,



but good times and high spirits do not necessarily spell victory at a Democratic convention. On the first ballot FDR was nominated easily for a third term, while Garner won only 61 votes (mainly from his native Texas).

He was dropped from the ticket in favor of Henry Wallace, of course, and returned to his ranch in Texas, where he remained a symbol of the conservative wing of the Democratic party until his death in 1967 at the ripe old age

of ninety-nine. Known for his pithy comment, "The vice presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm spit" (actually he had used an earthier metaphor), John Nance Garner represented the conservative, rural Democratic tradition that dominated the party before Roosevelt reshaped it into the New Deal coalition that included labor, minorities, and intellectuals. ★

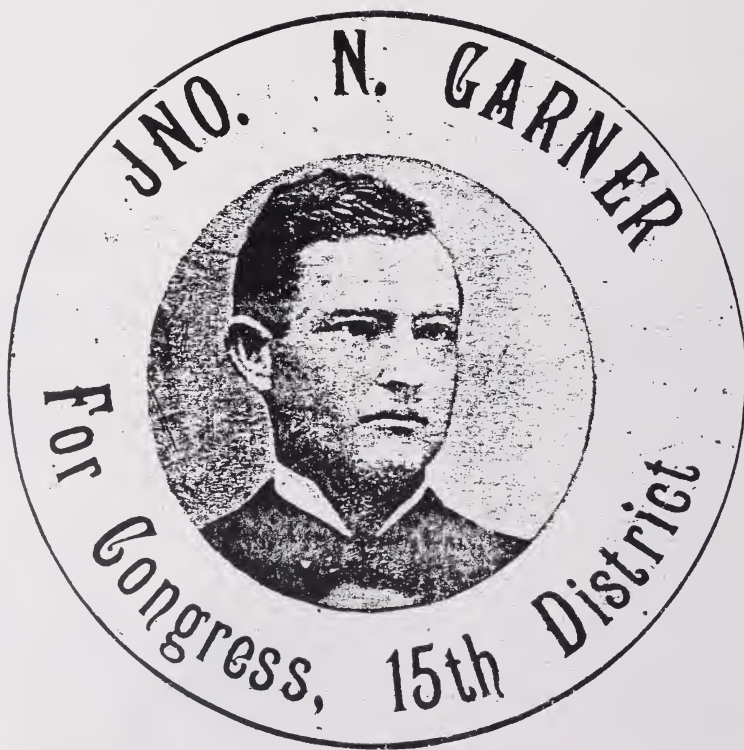
Items of Interest

One of the important functions of *The Keynoter* that is seldom mentioned is its role as a repository of photographic materials for the hobby. Most of these are actual photographs taken to professional standards, some are poor quality photographs retained as the only available record of the items shown, and some are Xerox copies. The problem with photographs (and Xeroxes of photographs) is that it is often impossible to determine the actual size of other-wise unknown items.

This Xerox of a photograph of an outstanding early John

Nance Garner button bears no indication of size. Garner ran in the 15th congressional district throughout his term in Congress, from the election of 1902 through 1932, when he was reelected to his seat and the vice presidency. Lyndon Johnson carried on this Texas tradition in 1960, when he was reelected to the Senate while also winning the vice president's office.

The button is probably black and white, 7/8" or 1 1/4" but could be 6" or even 10" in size. Any information on this item would assist APIC research. ★



Davis Coattail Items

Robert Rouse

Given the circumstances of his nomination, his personal obscurity, and the long losing tradition of the Democratic party which was virtually certain to continue in 1924, it might be considered rather surprising that John W. Davis inspired **any** coattail items. Nevertheless, there are at least nine known coattail items from the Davis campaign. In each of the four states where Davis coattail buttons and ribbons appeared, Davis was defeated by Calvin Coolidge; for the most part, the Democratic candidates for the Senate and governorships who tied their fates to the national ticket on these items suffered the same adverse results.

In Michigan the scarce Davis/Frensdorf/Cooley item was distributed at the state Democratic convention. In the general election Edward Frensdorf was soundly defeated by two-term incumbent Governor Alexander Groesbeck and Senate nominee Mortimer Cooley was humiliated by Republican James Couzens, who thus won the first of his two terms in the Senate. In Missouri the contest was much closer but the result was the same, for Arthur Nelson lost the governor's race to Republican Samuel Baker by one half of one percent of the vote. In Kentucky Senator Augustus O. Stanley was retired by the voters after one term by Republican Fredric Sackett by a modest three percent of the vote.

Six of the nine known Davis coattail items were issued in New York; four buttons and two ribbons appeared that jointly promoted Davis and Governor Al Smith. This might seem to have been something of a political "odd couple" in 1924, for Davis was given the Democratic presidential nomination only after a record 103 ballots because the party's rural, "dry," and Protestant forces would not surrender the nomination to the urban, "wet," and Roman Catholic New Yorker they saw as the symbol of Tammany and everything else they feared in politics. But after the convention Smith promised to help Davis during the general election campaign and Davis reportedly told Smith that he could help most by running again for the New York statehouse. It is clear that these six Davis-Smith 1924 items were in effect "reverse coattail" pieces, attempting to transfer to the head of the ticket some of the popularity of the charismatic "Happy Warrior."

When the two campaigned together in New York, the crowds were much larger and more enthusiastic than the audiences Davis attracted alone. These performances did much to quash speculation that Al Smith could not be a viable presidential candidate after 1924. Although Coolidge carried New York by 700,000 votes, Smith won his third stint in Albany in four tries by a margin of 140,000, becoming the only Democrat to survive statewide. As he noted mournfully in his 1925 inaugural address, "My party was



beaten and I seem to stand almost alone amid the wreckage and disasters that overtook it." He defeated Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., the eldest son of the legendary Rough Rider, by three percent of the vote. Following in his father's footsteps, the younger Roosevelt served in World War I, was elected to the state Assembly, and was then appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy. But he lacked his father's political talent. Although local party bosses did not really want him as their candidate, they hoped that his illustrious name might elect him in a presidential year in which the Republicans held a massive advantage — especially one in which the Progressives would poll 4,800,000 votes nationally (a tenth of that in New York). Two years later Al Smith defeated Republican Ogden Mills for an unprecedented fourth term in the statehouse and even most unfriendly politicians had to begin to think of him in presidential terms. ★

A People of Vision

THE PROHIBITION PARTY IN AMERICA

Earl Dodge

Editor's note: In the 1981:1 *Keynoter* appeared an article on Prohibition by Rob Payne that elicited a letter from Earl Dodge, APIC No.1116, challenging the objectivity of Payne's article and asking that a future *Keynoter* carry a piece on the subject from the pro-temperance point of view. Since, in addition to being an APIC member of long standing, Dodge has for many years served as national chairman of the Prohibition party and ran in 1976 and 1980 as its vice presidential nominee, the *Keynoter* asked him to write the piece he had in mind. Dodge did so and this is it. Since writing this article, Dodge has been designated the 1984 presidential nominee of the Prohibition party, the only APIC member to our knowledge to achieve such distinction (except for one or two men given gratis APIC memberships after the fact by their interest group chapters). We wish him well.

On September 1, 1869, some five hundred people assembled in Farwell Hall in Chicago to consider the formation of a new political party dedicated to the idea that beverage alcohol was a danger to the well-being of the nation and must be legally banned. They had a vision which Abraham Lincoln had touched upon just before his death when he said that he longed for the day when there "would be neither slave nor drunkard on the face of the earth."

My own involvement in the Prohibition party began in 1952 when, after organizing a Taft for President committee in Weston, Massachusetts, I felt that the candidates and platforms produced by the GOP were indistinguishable from those of the Democrats. I had heard of the Prohibition party but thought that it was a one-issue group. I soon found otherwise and in September, 1952, I joined the party. Two years later I ran for the Governor's Council from a Boston district, polling thousands of votes from Republicans who could not bear to vote for a Democrat (there being no Republican nominee). In 1956 I ran for the office of secretary of state.

By 1958 we had moved to Winona Lake, Indiana, at the time the location of the party's national headquarters. I ran for the Kosciusko County Commission in 1958 and for Congress against Charles Halleck, formerly the Republican House minority leader, in 1960. A year before the race against Halleck I ran for the city council in Winona Lake. I received more than forty percent of the vote but was defeated; two other Prohibitionists were elected, however, making Winona Lake the first community to be controlled

politically by the Prohibitionists since Repeal.

In 1966, while living in Kansas City, Missouri, I spoke at the Kansas state Prohibition convention in Wichita. When they found out that I was planning to move soon to Kansas, they selected me as their nominee for the U.S. Senate. We quickly leased a home in the Kansas City suburb of Overland Park, Kansas, just in time to become a legal resident and serve as candidate. A one-year residency requirement kept me voting for myself! This proved to be one of my most active campaigns, with many TV appearances and a few debates that included James Pearson, who won the election as a Republican. My brief Kansas residency before the election caused me to be dubbed the Robert Kennedy of the Prohibition party! Three years later I ran for the city commission in Kalamazoo, Michigan, polling about forty-two percent of the vote.

Since 1972, while living in Colorado, I have run once as a presidential elector, twice on the Prohibition national ticket for vice president, and three times for the Colorado governorship. My 1982 gubernatorial race was especially interesting for me, as my son Calvin and my daughters Faith and Karen were on the same state-wide ticket!

Whether speaking to a few already committed souls at a "candidates' night" or appearing on the NBC Tom Snyder *Tomorrow* show, I have always enjoyed my work. Not many people have the privilege of working full time at a job they enjoy and which they would not willingly trade for any other.

In my opinion, the history of the Prohibition party shows it to be composed of people with a vision of what should be, what can be, and what they will try to make a reality someday. If one scans the history of America's oldest third party, one discovers that the dry crusaders were the first to support suffrage for women, child labor laws, civil service in place of the spoils system, conservation of natural resources, a peacetime volunteer army instead of a draft, the direct election of the United States senators, and a host of other reforms adopted by the dominant parties after they became popular with the electorate. In recent years the party has been something of a voice in the political wilderness, calling for a balanced federal budget and spending restraints by government. We were the first to call for a constitutional amendment to require limits on taxation, a balanced budget, and a systematic reduction of the national debt. The economy today stands as evidence that our warnings have not been heeded.

Yet to Prohibitionists, the overriding issue has always been to ban the bottle from which, they believe, more social ills pour forth than from any other single source. Contrary to



public opinion, most of those in the party and in other dry groups aren't those who have had alcohol-related problems personally or in their homes. They simply have a real concern for their families, friends, and neighbors, whom they believe are threatened by the use of alcoholic beverages by such a large proportion of society.

The variety of people in the party over the years is perhaps best illustrated by the range of persons chosen as its presidential nominees since 1872. Ex-governors John St. John of Kansas and J. Frank Hanly of Indiana contrast with cowboy singer and composer Stuart Hamblen, our 1952 standardbearer. Roger Babson, the eminent statistician who became nationally famous when he correctly predicted the 1929 Wall St. crash, provides an interesting contrast to Civil War generals Neal Dow, considered "the father of Prohibition," Clinton B. Fisk, who founded Fisk University, and John Bidwell, who led the first wagon train of settlers into California. Other personalities found in the party's history include Flip "Wrong Way" Corrigan, who sought a U.S. Senate seat in California, Isaac Funk of Funk & Wagnalls fame, who began his career publishing party tracts and magazines, and Dr. Charles Welch, who founded the Welch Grape Juice Company because of his opposition to the use of wine in communion rites.

Our platform's support for religious liberty and the separation of church and state is matched by our firm conviction that God and morality must not be separated from the governmental life of the United States. The Prohibitionist stress on personal liberty was regarded as liberal during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because many in our ranks viewed some corporations as the greatest threat to personal freedom. This belief led the party to be the first to advocate anti-trust and workers' compensation laws, as well as to defend the rights of workers to organize into unions. In recent decades our conviction that big labor and big government most seriously threaten personal freedom have caused the party to push for right-to-work laws and constitutional changes to strip the federal government of much of its recently assumed power. Thus today the party is usually described as conservative.

In 1980 the party polled only about 7500 votes in the presidential race using a trial-balloon designation as the "National Statesman party", a title we have subsequently dropped. Prohibitionists believe that the party's small size today is due to three important factors. First, most states have repressive election laws designed to make life miserable for all but the two major parties. Most of our limited finances are used just to obtain the right to appear on the ballot in a handful of states. In the past, when all parties

were on the ballot as a matter of right, hundreds of Prohibitionists held public office. The denial of registration privileges to third-party members in most states keeps party leaders from knowing who most of their supporters are. Secondly, the news media usually imposes a blackout on the activities of third parties. If Prohibitionists get any national attention at all, we are usually lumped with the Communists, the Vegetarians, and "Reverend" Kirby Hensley! Prohibitionists feel that they suffer most because the products they wish to ban are a source of income in the media through liquor advertising. Finally, there is today a widespread disregard for the moral values which had such popular sup-



port in the past decades. Prohibitionists do not expect a great change unless and until there is a genuine spiritual awakening or revival that will sweep many Americans into the ranks of the concerned over moral values.

As Prohibitionists look back upon the Prohibition era, we have mixed emotions. Of all the "dry" organizations, we alone publicly predicted Repeal even before the ink was dry on the Eighteenth Amendment. Prohibitionists knew that neither major party favored the law and said that it could not last fifteen years; in lasted thirteen. Yet in spite of poor enforcement, we believe that Prohibition proved the value of such a law. Figures indicate that crime, drunkenness, and other alcohol-related problems all declined greatly during the dry years. Cirrhosis of the liver, usually caused by tipping, reached an all-time low rate during Prohibition (and is now at an all-time high).

We still have a vision of a future free from alcohol, when traditional moral values centered in the family-home life will reign supreme in America again. Prohibition party members know that their chances of being on the inside at a presidential inaugural in the foreseeable future are slim, but like Woodrow Wilson we would rather fail in a cause we are sure will ultimately triumph than be in a winning situation on behalf of a cause we are convinced is doomed. That we hold to this vision of the future perhaps explains why we are still active 114 years after our founding. ★



NEWS

APIC Speakers Bureau To Be Restructured

The APIC Speaker Bureau will now be operated as part of the APIC Library and Museum Service, under the capable direction of Elmer Koppelman, APIC/LMS Director. In making this announcement, President Norman Loewenstern expressed his hope that many members will make themselves available in their home communities when called upon to make a presentation. Several scripts and slide presentations are being developed for use by APIC speakers who would prefer using a "canned" speech.

In order to publicize the availability of APIC speakers, details on political collecting and our hobby will be sent to state and national publications serving community organizations, libraries, schools and luncheon groups. "Now is the time to make our contacts and arrange speaking dates," stated Loewenstern. "To accomplish our purpose, we must take advantage of our increased visibility during the coming presidential campaign year."

President's Message

1984 is our opportunity year! Make APIC better known in your community. Local banks, savings and loan offices and libraries are always looking for exhibits. APIC owns an excellent multi-panel free standing Smithsonian Institution exhibit called "Five Critical Elections." The exhibit can be set up in just two hours, and is particularly effective when shown in connection with real items from the collections of local collectors. Use of the exhibit is free, except for the freight costs. Contact Elmer Koppelman for more specific information. If each chapter would make this a project, we can gain maximum usage of the exhibit.

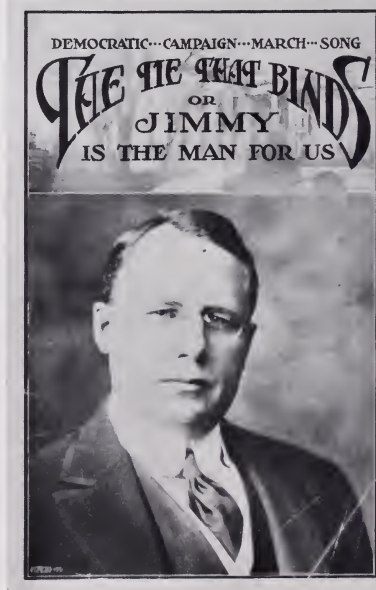
Norman Loewenstern

NORMAN LOEWENSTERN

Items of Interest

Popularity has been growing in one of the hobby's lesser known specialties, sheet music collecting. Political campaign songs and marches have seldom represented the best of American music, but do fairly represent the musical styles of their times and follow a tradition of historical songs celebrating great events as they occurred. In many instances, the front cover graphics are superb, depicting the candidates in patriotic vignettes and flag backgrounds. Amongst the hardest twentieth century candidates for collectors to obtain are Alton Parker, Adlai Stevenson, and the champion of hard-to-get, James Cox.

Recently, the *Keynoter* editors have been preparing a mini-project, which will picture many pieces of campaign sheet music. In the interim, this particular item was purchased recently at the Buckeye Regional meeting in Columbus, Ohio.



Suffrage and Billy Sunday

A Personal Letter from Champ Clark, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

THE SPEAKER'S ROOMS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 11, 1918

Bennett C. Clark
Lieut. Col. 140th U.S. Infantry
C/O Brigade and Field Officers School,
Fort Sam Houston
San Antonio, Texas

My dear Bennett:

We received your letter yesterday and were very glad to get it.

It is still cold here, and murky. Yesterday was as fine a day over head as I ever saw. They haven't got all the sleet off the streets yet, and I don't think they can. It sticks so tight, but they are getting enough off so people don't have to run the risk of breaking their necks every step they take. Judge Sims fell down and broke his arm right up to the shoulder and came over yesterday with his arm in a sling to vote for Woman Suffrage; likewise, Mann came over to vote for Woman Suffrage and when he came in, the House rose and cheered him lustily. He looks dreadfully, dreadfully bad. I gave him your love and Genevieve's. He seemed very much affected and sent his love to you.

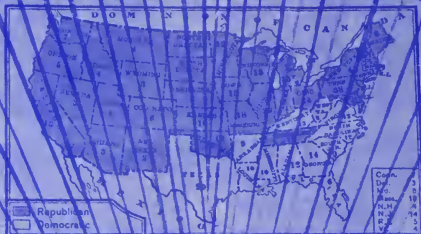
The vote on Suffrage Amendment stood 274 to 136. If it had been necessary, I would have voted for it. The thing is inevitable. If they do not get it this time, they will get it next time, and if not next time, then the next one. It is doubtful, so they say, that it will pass the Senate.

Yesterday was a big day in the House; what you would call a field day. We met at eleven o'clock. Of course, everybody and his grandpap were there. Billy Sunday opened the House with prayer. When he got through, the House applauded like he had made a political speech. I had him, his wife, his son and his wife, his musician, Governor Dockery, Billy Cochran and his wife, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw, for luncheon. Your mother had been bellowing around she would have nothing to do with him and she was perfectly fascinated with him. I am very fond of him, and he seems to be very fond of me.

I am enclosing you some letters which will undoubtedly interest you. I enclose you all of Foss Matthews' letter about matters in which you would be interested, and a letter from General Roy Hoffman. It is one of the nicest letters I have received and I wish you would return it to me as I want to put it in my autobiography sometime when I print the book. We are starting off very slow indeed.

Your affectionate father,
Champ Clark

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